

## **Foreign policy of China and Russia against the US in Eurasia**

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**Abstract:** Throughout its history, the United States has always relied on the concepts of realism to create a unipolar system based on American hegemony that operates on the two axes of unilateralism and interventionism. This has been emphasized in the thinking of the new American order, which has been the central focus of the goals of all US presidents since the collapse of the Soviet Union to date. Accordingly, the policy of infiltration in strategic regions of competing powers has been one of the most important goals of US foreign policy during this period; one of these important regions is Eurasia. Russia and China, two Eurasian states, have used their capabilities in the region for more than two decades to build strategic alliances and prevent foreign powers from interfering in regional affairs. The two countries want a redistribution of power in the international system and refuse to follow the principles of American leadership in regional and global relations, especially in Eurasia. Russia and China's empowerment in various arenas and their impact on the international system and subsequently the confrontation with American hegemony has led to the question of how and with what tools will Russia and China counteract the hegemonic unilateralist policies in Eurasia and whether the two countries' unity axis will be possible against the hegemon. The paper assumes that policy of Russia and China against the US in Eurasia, respectively, have been strengthened by a soft and soft balance, and given the relative benefits of each in the geopolitical, political, security, cultural and economic spheres, have failed to achieve a uniform path

**Key Word:** Russia, China, USA, New World Order, Eurasia

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### **I. INTRODUCTION**

The victory of liberalism and the supremacy of American values in the East and the West led the United States to seeking to shape a favorable American order in various parts of the world, relying on its cultural, political, and economic aspirations to shape a favorable American order in various parts of the world and to call itself the hegemonic power of the international system. Maintaining the hegemonic role of the United States in the unipolar world has been USA's most important strategic goal from the post-Cold War era to the present. In fact, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new geopolitical environment emerged in various regions where regional and transnational powers competed with each other; in this context, the United States planned to benefit geopolitical equations by utilizing liberal values in various fields such as free market in the field of economy, democracy and human rights in the political field as well as military power. This policy was carried out rapidly by the United States in the early years of the 21st century without any serious opposition from the other powers. Creating military bases and investing in huge oil and gas projects in various parts of the world, including the Eurasian region, are examples of this effort to shape the new American order. Eurasia, according to Brzezinski, is one of the disputed territories of the great powers; so American unilateralism in the region comes at a time when Russia and China, as the two beneficiary powers in the region, are unhappy with Washington's actions, and so have been trying to counter US policies. These competitions have paved the way for the return of geopolitical competition to the international system. Russia, as a serious critic of US policies following the relative establishment of political stability, seeks to gain regional supremacy in Eurasia, and will certainly be a challenge for US policies in the region. China, which has been able to present itself as a superior power by relying on economic power globally, has cultural, economic and security links with some of the Eurasian countries. So the two countries in Eurasia have vital interests and are opposed to the presence of trans-regional powers in the region. The existence of these two regional powers vis-à-vis the United States has led to new competition in global geopolitics; in particular, the proximity of Russia and China to Eurasia and the unification of the two countries against US hegemony have greatly affected the international environment. This has led some analysts to analyze Russia's re-entry and China's emergence into the geopolitics of the world as a transition from the American monopoly to the multipolar world. Thus, examining Russia's and China's anti-hegemonic policies in the region could be a good basis for analyzing the competitiveness of powers in the geopolitics of the American new world order. Accordingly, this article seeks to answer the question of how and by what means Russia and China in Eurasia counteract the hegemonic unilateralist policies and whether the two

states' unity against hegemon will be possible. The paper assumes that Russia's and China's policies against the US in Eurasia, respectively, have been strengthened by a soft and soft balance, and given the relative benefits of each in the geopolitical, political, security, cultural and economic spheres, have failed to achieve a uniform path. Although we have seen Russia-China cooperation in Eurasia in recent years, there are still many issues and reasons that hinder the strategic unification of the two countries and the formation of an anti-hegemonic axis. The paper then attempts to provide a proper analysis of the variables of the paper by explaining the geopolitics of the new world order, the tools and processes of creating the new world order in Eurasia, as well as examining the anti-hegemon patterns of Russia and China. This paper will analyze the components studied using a descriptive-analytic research method and library data collection.

## **II. THE NEW WORLD ORDER**

The United States began the end of the Cold War with a new order based on American political, economic, and security values and criteria. American scholars, therefore, made every effort to theorizing the new world order. In fact, the day after the collapse of the bipolar system, the remaining monopoly became the idea of forming a unipolar system. In fact, the day after the collapse of the bipolar system, the United States, the only superpower remaining in the international system, was thinking of forming a unipolar system. Geopolitics, therefore, is entering a period in which power-holders have openly denied the originality of science, which is recognized as a central feature of modern times, claiming to organize the affairs of the world by replacing the originality of science with originality of morality (democracy and human Rights). Alongside ethics, there are economic and security factors that replace science. In this regard, with the geopolitical guidance of people such as Fukuyama and Huntington along with extremists from neoconservatives such as Newt Gingrich, Richard Pearl, Donald Rumsfeld and George W. Bush decided to pursue ideas about globalism and world domination for the US as a superpower. The New World Order had some of the principles and characteristics that American politicians emphasized during the Bush era and after the Cold War. In general, these principles are: (a) National American values and resources: The basis of the New World Order is based on American values, including democracy, free markets, and the preservation of strategic superiority.(b) Interventionism: According to this theory, the new world order frees the United States to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, all of which is carried out under the slogan "humanitarian interventions" and the first of which took place in Iraq following the invasion of Kuwait. (c) Development of cooperation: In this case, the United States encourages others to increase their role in the international environment to reduce its international obligations. (d) Assigning greater responsibility to international organizations and international institutions: Under the new order, international law gained a special status after the Cold War; for example, the invasion of Iraq in 1991, the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and the attack on Libya in 2011 took place with the permission of the UN Security Council [2]. The creation of a new world order is made possible by the means. In fact, the United States of America is striving to bring a new order by going through steps like creating a free market economy, creating a unified political world and creating a unified security world by tying its security to the world in relation to different countries in different and sensitive regions of the world. One of these geopolitically important areas is Eurasia. The region, which is the largest part of the world, is of geopolitical importance. In today's world, the geopolitical importance of the region has also increased due to the influence of major powers' policies on regional security. Major trans-regional and regional powers such as the US, Russia and China are the most important players in the region. On the path to a new American world order, the Russians and Chinese will certainly not want to follow Washington.

## **III. EURASIA GEOPOLITICS**

Eurasia, as the largest territorial part of the world, has always been of geopolitical importance. In one definition, the region includes the former Soviet republics, the Balkans, the Eastern Bloc countries in Europe, as well as Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan and China. Brzezinski views Eurasia as a great chessboard for competing powers on the international stage. He therefore offers various suggestions for US dominance over the region. He considers the region to be in serious regional crises and believes that geopolitics represents American hegemony in Eurasia. Brzezinski says Washington's main strategy in the region is to prevent a hostile coalition of US rivals in Eurasia from emerging. Brzezinski therefore proposes expanding NATO to the East and further convergence in Europe in order to increase US influence in Eurasia. Spykman and Mackinder both spoke of the importance of Eurasia and the need to maintain balance in the region. Their differences differ only in the relative importance of Rimland versus Heartland in Eurasia. According to Mackinder supporters, in the new era geopolitics has shifted from regional to global, and supremacy in Eurasia forms the basis of global competition [3]. So Eurasia is the axis of the world geopolitics. The power that controls Eurasia will have two of the three most developed and productive economies in the world. Eurasia consists of major global, nuclear and economic powers; it is thus a chessboard on which the quest for universal supremacy continues. In addition to the above, oil and natural gas reserves increase the importance of the strategic position of the region. Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan have

huge reserves of oil and gas; Uzbekistan has strategic reserves of natural gas. Given the upward trend in industrial countries' reliance on fossil fuel consumption, at least until year 2030, Eurasia is one of the focuses of global markets in consumption [4]. This unique geopolitics, which encompasses economic, political, cultural, and communication dimensions, has attracted attention from trans-powers such as the United States, which has fueled tension and competition with older regional powers such as China and Russia.

#### **IV. UNITED STATES HEGEMONY IN EURASIA**

After the collapse of the bipolar system that ruled the international system for nearly fifty years after World War II, the United States emerged as the victor of the Cold War race that eventually transformed the country into the dominant international power and placed it on the brink of monopoly and American hegemony. Bush's presentation of the theory of the new world order in the 1990s, which was also endorsed by the next presidents, essentially meant integrating global security and integrating global geopolitics according to US standards. For nearly three decades, the United States has been pursuing its goal of consolidating global hegemony in the post-Cold War era, pursuing this goal by advancing unilateralist policy in three ways: (a) The creation of a single economic world through the epidemic of what is known as open economy or capitalism; (b) Creating a unified political world by exploiting specific political ethics like democracy for the whole world; (c) The creation of a unified security world that will be achieved after the economic and political conditions of the world are unified [5]. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was a power vacuum in Eurasia as a result of which the United States, like the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, sought to fill that gap by expanding its influence in the region; in other words, Washington seems eager to replicate the Middle East and Persian Gulf experience in Eurasia. Because in the Middle East equations, US power is ultimately decisive, and by repeating this experience in Eurasia it can further strengthen its global hegemony in addition to controlling geopolitical rivals such as Russia and China. Given that in recent years the path has been opened for Russian re-infiltration into the region, US dominance in Eurasia has become more sensitive. The United States has placed its acquisition and consolidation of global hegemony at the forefront of all its foreign policy decisions and actions, including trying to prevent the emergence of a challenging global power or even the formation of an anti-hegemonic alliance to maintain its position. The United States seeks to prevent anti-hegemon treaties and alliances with a different mix of Iran, Russia, China and India by infiltrating the Russian backyard and communicating with its neighbors [6]. The requirements of American hegemony have made it appear in a region thousands of kilometers away from its territory on the basis of three principles of "diffusion," expansion, and "interventionism". In general, some of USA's interests in Eurasia include: (a) Expanding US policies in republics separated from the former Soviet Union to prevent Russia's re-empowerment; (b) Preventing Iranian influence in Central Asia; (c) Preventing from the proliferation of nuclear weapons; (d) supporting the market economy and human rights in the region; (e) Prevent the growth of radical and anti-Western political Islam in the region [7]. However, under the new conditions of the international system in which any power is accompanied by resistance, the Eurasian region has the greatest potential to form an anti-American axis against the United States, and some political scholars believe that countries such as Russia, China and Iran, now known as regional powers, have the potential to form an anti-hegemonic axis in the Eurasian region. Overall, it seems that although US power and influence in Eurasia is not decisive as in the Middle East, opposition to its global hegemony in the Eurasian region and cooperation of countries such as Russia and China will greatly affect global equations, and at the same time it will lead the monopoly system towards multilateralism. One of the most important features of America's preservation of global hegemony is its special position in global access. In other words, the United States is the only country in the world that has military bases and air and naval fleets in different parts of the world. So the United States is trying to use this region to pursue its political order and to try to consolidate its hegemony over the world. The United States has the most motivation and capacity to be present in the Eurasian region. The 9/11 events and the formation of a global coalition to combat terrorism provided a good opportunity for the country to become more present in the region. The US military presence in Georgia, trying to build military bases in Azerbaijan, Turkey and Afghanistan, as well as the acquisition of limited air bases, including Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, all represent a US special approach to the region; so the interests of America in Eurasia are very numerous. Thus, the loss of influence and dominance in the Eurasian region is dangerous to US hegemony; and this is an issue that Russia and China are well aware of and are taking in this direction. The two countries have had to work closely together to prevent US influence in Eurasia. Conducting Chinese-Russian military joint exercises with members of the Shanghai community since 2005 at approximately the most extensive level with advanced equipment along with activating the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and BRICS are examples of Russian-Chinese anti-American efforts and policies against the United States.

## **V. RUSSIA'S ANTI-HEGEMONIC POLICIES IN EURASIA**

Post-Soviet Russia's foreign policy has been subject to various fluctuations, such as westernism and look east approach, but Eurasianism seems to be the predominant one in Russian foreign policy approaches. This approach was further enhanced by Putin's involvement in Russian foreign policy. Putin provided stability in Russian decision-making, putting Russia's status as a great power on agenda [8]. The Russians pay particular attention to countries separated from the former Soviet Union. Russia's overall approach to Eurasia is to preserve the monopoly that has remained with the Soviet Union since its inception. These monopolies are grouped into three main sectors: energy, communications and transportation. Russia has several interests in Eurasia, including: Using of raw materials and raw materials of regional countries; transiting part of the region's goods and products to Northern Europe; using the Russian route to transfer energy to the Caspian region; preserving cultural and historical solidarity between nations of the region by using the common historical past; expanding influence through strengthening and expanding social cooperation; maintaining influence among the elites trained in the Soviet era and communicating with new graduates; working to maintain and strengthen the existing military bases in the region (military bases in Armenia, Gabala radar station in Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and so on); trying to prevent the spread of influence and the presence of transnational forces such as NATO and the US; making security arrangements commensurate with Russia's interests and trying to weaken Russia's opposition in the region by expanding relations with regional countries and working with regional actors that strengthen Russia's positions [9]. In the years after the collapse, the Russians sought to increase their influence on the historical Eurasian nations in three cultural, economic, and political dimensions. Perhaps one of the most important tools of Russian influence in the republics separated from the Soviet Union is culture. Indeed, the cultural dependence of the people and the ruling elite of the region on Russia is an important privilege that the European Union, the US and even China lack it. Supporting Russians in the former Soviet Union, cultural influence by preserving Russian language and script and preventing contradiction between Russian culture and cultural identity in the region is one of Russia's most important cultural goals to counter US hegemonic policies in Eurasia. Although it seems given Russia's foreign policy weakness compared to the United States and its lower attractiveness rather than American culture for the younger generation of Eurasian nations, Russia has failed to take maximum advantage of the region's cultural and linguistic ties. Also, in the economic field, given the dependence of much of the infrastructure of countries separated from the former Soviet Union on Russia, Russia has a comparative advantage. This advantage was such that in the early 1990s, only Central Asia was relied on Russia to provide more than 60% of its infrastructure and supply of raw materials. This issue led to Russia becoming the first economic partner of five Central Asian countries during the 1990s; but with US policies in the region and, most importantly, China's economic influence in the region, China has become the first export partner of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan over the past decade. This issue, along with Western energy transfer schemes such as the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan and Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum pipelines, has reduced Russia's economic penetration in the region [10]. This has changed the geopolitics of the region and led to greater cooperation and tendency of the countries of the region with the US and the European Union. Russia, through the following actions, is trying to achieve its most important goal - to prevent the Eurasian countries, especially the Central Asian and Caucasian governments, from cooperating with Western countries and companies, especially the US: participation of Russian companies in the energy resources of the countries that own these resources; highlighting Russia's role as major provider of Eurasian needs, especially in Central Asia; weakening of regional and trans-regional rival powers [11]. In the political sphere, the situation in Russia is far better than the cultural and economic aspects. In spite of numerous domestic problems and constraints, especially during the US and NATO pressures, Russia was able to maintain a high level of bilateral political relations with regional countries. Russia's military presence in some countries in the region, such as the "Russian military base 201" in Tajikistan; Kant Air Base in Kyrgyzstan and the Baikonur space base, along with two radar and missile systems known as the Dnepr radar Station near Lake Balkhash; and the Sari Shagan missile tests area in the Republic of Kazakhstan, along with pressure on Uzbekistan to close the Khan Abad base in 2005; and as well as threatening and enticing Kyrgyzstan to close Manas base in summer 2014 reflects Russia's political and military power in the region. These measures should be considered in addition to the extension of Russian base 201 to 2042, Kant base to 2032, Baikonur space base to 2050, and extension of base in Armenia to 2044 reflecting Russia's long-term and strategic view on Eurasia [12]. Generally, Russia seeks to prevent the military and political domination of other powers in the region by preserving the former Soviet republics' territorial integrity and independence. Another attempt is the signing military-industrial contracts and agreements with powerful countries that have the potential to influence the hegemon. In October 2016, for example, Russia was able to reach an agreement with India on a series of military and industrial economic contracts to provide the path to a military alliance in Eurasia. Russian leaders are stepping up their policies of regional cooperation and alliance with Eurasian states, such as playing a key role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Eurasian Tariff, to thwart American hegemonic policies at the regional level. Russia is trying to regain its former international standing, but due to internal problems and US hegemonic presence in

the periphery of Russia it seems that Russian authorities have come to the conclusion that in order to play their role as a superpower, they need alliance with the major powers. In this regard, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, with the presence of peripheral countries and China, can address an important part of Russia's political and security needs. In this regard, the Russians have considered the following goals: trying to create a multipolar world by providing a status equal to other major powers; trying to reduce the influence of the West, especially the US and the North Atlantic Treaty organization in Central Asia; expansion of trade and economic cooperation with China and Central Asian countries; expanding political, economic, cultural and military influence in the region; creating a secure environment on the periphery territory and focusing more on domestic political and economic reform [12]. Russia is seeking to create an external security belt around itself to protect the country from immediate peripheral threats while at the same time enhancing its security territory and strategic depth. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is one such mechanism to provide security to counter US hegemony in Eurasia. The importance of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is in its significant impact on theoretical issues in international relations such as the future of the monopoly system and the emergence of new forms of balance of power. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is made up of quadratic powers, and these powers have begun actions to change or modify the balance of forces in the present world. In fact, it could be a step towards an alliance against the United States. Some, however, believe that the SCO has been created to deepen relations between member states, especially Russia and China. In other words, the culmination of Russian foreign policy are the dream of becoming a superpower and confronting with the US, so Russia is looking for new allies in the world, including China, India and Iran; the formation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is seen in this regard [13]. The Russians in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization have been more focused on increasing military and diplomatic influence, as the primary goal is to counter security concerns, especially the presence of large powers such as the United States in areas of Russian interest. Hence, the country is less interested in the economic potential of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization than in the military and political potentials [14]. Russia's elites believe that the unipolar system is an unstable situation and it will change with new inter-structural coalitions. As such, hegemonic power will no longer be compatible with new international conditions and the balance of power will be restored in a new way [15]. For this reason, Russia believes that countries in the world, and in particular alliances such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, should stand in harmony and unity against American hegemony. Generally, Russia has felt the danger of American hegemony in the Eurasian region in the years since 9/11, especially in the past decade. America's economic, military, and cultural presence for a new generation of people in the region has led to a series of different Russian political, economic, and military responses to US policies. The Russians want a redistribution of power in international system and believe that the ruling the world by monopoly will not last. The issue of revising the global economic structures, the prolongation of the Syrian crisis, intensification of terrorist groups such as ISIS, the crisis in Ukraine and the annexation of the Crimean peninsula to Russia are examples of the conflict between two powers - one for maintaining power and the other for redistributing power in the international system. These competitions are much more sensitive in the strategic region of Eurasia. What is evident from Russian policy is that its approaches to confronting the geopolitics of the US new world order in the form of aggressive behavior or in other words in the form of hard balance policies have succeeded to some degree.

## **VI. CHINA'S CONFRONTATION WITH US HEGEMONY IN EURASIA**

The China today is a most powerful economically and militarily country in the world that has challenged US plans to create a new world order. Chinese leaders have challenged the strategy of the US monopoly system, believing that given the realities of the international economy, their country has had an undeniable impact on international politics [16]. China's quest to challenge the US new world order is one of the most important issues that has been the focus of great thinkers such as Waltz, Huntington, Nye, Fukuyama, and so on. The rise of China symbolizes the monopoly era. China has sought to increase its influence in near countries by weakening US hegemony and US influence globally and subsequently in these countries [17]. Therefore, China can undoubtedly be the most prominent manifestation of emerging power in the international system. China, relying on boosting economic growth and development and with considerable confidence, has been able to challenge the favorable order of world superpower in various regions, including Eurasia. In foreign policy, the Chinese are firmly committed to a peaceful and independent foreign policy. The main purpose of this policy is to preserve and protect China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, creating a favorable international environment for the implementation of reform policies, modernization and support for economic growth and development. Opposition to hegemon and efforts to create a multipolar world are other goals of China's foreign policy at the present time. Chinese elites believe China seeks interaction with other countries to boost its position given China's economic strength. The same view is true about China's relationship with the countries of the Eurasian region. The two main axes have had a significant impact on China's foreign policy with regard to Eurasia: five principles of peaceful coexistence (mutual respect for each other's territorial

integrity and sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and cooperation for mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence); the principle of "four no" includes neither hegemony, nor politics of power, no military ally, no military rivalry [18]. On the basis of its doctrine of peaceful emergence, China has sought to increase its influence in the region and counteract US presence and influence. This doctrine was first introduced academically by a group of scholars at the Shanghai Institute and formally announced during Ho Jin Tao's Journey to Southeast Asia. This strategy was widely publicized at the beginning of 2003 as "peaceful emergence", which means that China's emergence is completely peaceful and no threat to anyone; since 2004, this concept was changed to "peaceful development" [19]. In fact, China's foreign policy since the beginning of the Third Millennium has been based on four key components that all express the essence of China's peaceful strategy: strengthening sustainable relations with countries; strengthening friendship and neighborliness; responsibility for resolving problems at regional and international level; developing and enhancing the level of cooperation with developing countries. Therefore, China has made extensive efforts to advance development in various dimensions, especially economically and politically, in order to improve its relations with most countries in the world. Joining most economic organizations and entities and avoiding membership in military organizations, trying to resolve disputes with Russia, expanding relations with the US and the EU, pursuing "good neighbor" strategy to enhance cooperation with neighboring countries, diminishing the role of ideology in its relations with third world countries, declining in support for revisionist movements and groups, trying to resolve crises through international channels are China's most important steps in the direction of a peaceful development strategy that has been rapidly under consideration in the last two decades. Therefore, its foreign policy approach should be examined in the context of the "doctrine of peaceful emergence". Chinese President Xi Jinping views the strategy as based on a 5,000-year-old Chinese civilization and believes that China can have a peaceful and lasting coexistence with other nations in the international system. This means that although China faces a power like the United States in its influence in Eurasia, this confrontation will not necessarily lead to fierce conflict [20]. This doctrine seeks to counter hegemon as well as to compete with regional powers, relying on soft balance, especially in the economic field, as well as the long-term prospect of enhancing military and security influence. Central Asian states' independence from the Soviet Union expanded China's interest in Eurasia and created new security issues for the country in Central Asia. Therefore, China has pursued a multi-faceted policy in this region to confront hegemon, which relies on resolving border disputes with regional countries, forging friendly relations with regional countries and preventing hegemonic supremacy and influence of hegemon power. From China's point of view, hegemonic influence in the region makes China's security environment more complicated and China's control over it weakened [21]. Therefore, there are various options to balance a power. China's first balancing act against American hegemonic power came during the invasion and presence of US troops in Afghanistan and Central Asia. During the US invasion of Afghanistan, China refused access to its land as a route for ground forces or as a US-led coalition for naval and air transport. China's other opposition is in the field of economics. By adopting soft diplomacy (especially commercial), it is expanding its influence in Eurasia, especially in the Central Asian region. China, backed by high economic growth, has been able to make the best use of the economic factor in balancing countries in the region. To achieve this, a long-term strategy in China policies is devoted to this region. While China's trade volume with Central Asian countries was about \$ 1 billion by 2000, it reached \$ 30 billion by 2010, which is a 30 fold increase over a relatively short ten-year period. During these years, China became the first trading partner of the countries in the region, while in the past Russia was the first trading partner of these countries. Chinese President Xi Jinping's ten-day trip to Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in September; and concluding several large trade deals worth hundreds of billions of dollars have been one of the country's most important policies to increase presence in the region and reduce the US hegemonic role. Active involvement in the transfer of energy resources from the east; ability to give large loans to countries in the region, establish economic relations with countries in the region without preconditions such as human rights and democracy, and China's position as a regional energy buyer has significantly increased China's position in the region's economic developments. Analysts see China's emergence as the most important change in Eurasia's geopolitics, especially in Central Asia. In the last two decades, China has become a leading investor in the region's energy sector, infrastructure projects and financing of regional power lines and its investment in Eurasia is increasing every year. The actions alongside the agenda to revitalize the historic Silk Road project with the aim of expanding and strengthening economic cooperation and boost transportation infrastructure are yet another example of the creation of a unique Chinese Eurasia to counter US hegemonic policies in the region.

In the military and security field, China's rise will inevitably lead to a decline in US dominance of the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, the United States has increased military cooperation with some of the countries in the region to offset its decline in the region. In contrast, China's military budget, which totaled about \$ 30 billion in 2000, reached \$ 120 billion in 2010 [22], and by 2019, that figure has reached \$ 240 billion. This dramatic increase in military spending coupled with the development of defense and security ties

with central Eurasian countries through bilateral defense and security partnerships with neighbors such as Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan along with the arms sales policy to some Middle Eastern countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia are China's military action and tough balance to reduce US influence and hegemony in the Eurasian region. In addition to the above, China, like Russia, recognizes the need for cooperation within the framework of the collective mechanisms. And so with the founding and active involvement in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, even with some sharing with the United States (especially in the area of economics and some disputes with Russia over the issue of influence in important Eurasian countries), it has turned to working with members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in opposition to US unilateralism. Many believe that the formation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization after the collapse of its bipolar system without the intervention of the United States reflects the formation of new conditions at the international level in Eurasia. Russia and China, as the two major world powers, have strategic eyes on the organization [22]. Beyond all of its foreign policy goals, China seems to be seeking to challenge American hegemony in the international system, especially in its favored areas, in the form of bilateral and multilateral relations and collective mechanisms. This will be complemented by the emergence of China as the new hegemon. But what is emphasized right now is that China's massive economic exchanges with the United States, especially after the change the pattern of hostility to competition and cooperation, as well as its military weakness rather than United States; do not appear to be willing to pose a hard challenge to American hegemony.

The prolongation of the transitional period of international politics and the lack of a definitive drawing of a definitive international order is, above all, due to emerging powers that reject the theory of a new world order and calls for a multilateral, and shared interests in international system [23]. In this new order, Russia wants to become a great and respected power in the international system. Its competition and policies in Eurasia are also due to the fact that in the equations between the West and the East has always been regarded as an influential player. The Russians, especially the Russian neo-Eurasians, do not wish to be reunited with the West but they want return to their traditional greatness, which is incompatible with the principles of the modern American world order. China has also gained political influence through its significant advances in the economic and military spheres. By rejecting the American model of development, they presented the Chinese model to the world. As in the financial crisis of 2008, by breaking the Washington consensus and by presenting the Chinese consensus, they were able to overcome the crisis with the least possible damage and show the inefficiency of Western economic and political versions in resolving global issues. Russia's and China's differing attitudes toward US policies in the global and regional spheres have given rise to the view that although both countries' policies against US hegemony and unilateralism are negative, but the way in which each of these countries deals with the United States is different. Especially because of the massive Beijing-Washington economic exchanges (about \$ 600 billion) the Russians do not trust the Chinese. In a general analysis, China's empowerment and its confrontation with the United States is an opportunity for Russia to breathe [24]. So it is true that Russia has accepted cooperation with China, but Russia's elites distrust to China's dominance in Eurasia has led to Russia's cautious cooperation with China. The opposite is true of China's distrust of Russian influence in Eurasia like the Soviet Union. The lack of coordination between Russia and China in the crises of Georgia, Ukraine, and the current Syrian crisis is one of the most significant examples of the lack of a strategic relationship to the anti-hegemon paradigm on the Eurasian chessboard, which is hotly debated.

## **VII. CONCLUSION**

The United States has always sought to impart its political, economic, military, and cultural model to other countries around the world, relying on American ideas of supremacy. This important issue has its roots in the old ideological rivalries of the East and West camps. This power in the post-Cold War era, whose actions were so far focused on controlling the Eastern bloc, without a serious competitor, presented a plan to the world called the New World Order. In the process of implementing this order, since the beginning of the third millennium, and especially after the events of 9/11, the United States has expanded its influence and presence throughout the world under the pretext of combating terrorism and fundamentalism; but the escalation of regional disputes, along with the empowerment of regional actors in important parts of the world, have challenged the new world order of the United States, and its power has been declining as a guarantee of global security. These conditions provided an opportunity for world powers such as Russia and China to claim a huge share of the world chessboard with enormous historical backing. Eurasia is Russia's traditional territory and China's favorite region; For this reason, the two powers no longer adhere to US prescriptions in the region and consider the only way to change direction is to strengthen multilateralism in the international system. Russia, therefore, has sought to strike a balance in the fight against US hegemony by establishing bilateral and multilateral economic, cultural, political and military relations in the form of economic agreements such as Eurasian tariffs, creation of energy transmission lines, strengthening cultural attractions and establishing and expanding military bases in some Eurasian countries, as well as collective mechanisms such as the Shanghai

Cooperation Organization with a policy of pressure on Eurasian actors. Important point for Russia is its aggressive policy in the form of a tough balance against the hegemon. They have exercised their military jurisdiction wherever necessary, regardless of international principles and regulations; this policy is in contrast to China's geoeconomic foreign policy. The Chinese do not intend to confront hegemony directly, but rather seek to gain a higher status internationally by increasing US leadership costs globally and regionally without direct confrontation. Extensive economic relations with Eurasian countries along with economic stimulus policies are among the most important Chinese actions against US hegemonic policies in the region that have been largely successful. China is the prime trading partner of most of the Central Eurasian countries, which confirms China's successful efforts. In order to counter US hegemonic policies in Eurasia, Russia-China are forced to realize strategic partnerships. The two countries have sought to enhance bilateral cooperation in the economic, political and military spheres, most notably the establishment and co-operation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, as well as efforts to deepen relations with new members in the organization. The joint China-Russia naval exercises in the South China Sea are a sign of the solidarity between the two countries in the fight against US anti-hegemonic policies. But the issue here is the concern of each of the two actors over each of them over Eurasia. The Chinese are trying to dominate the region by economic means and the Russians by military and political means. This has prevented the two countries from fully cooperating to counter US unilateralism. The new world order that the United States had offered to fill the vacuum created after the Cold War no longer has its past performance and credibility, and now regional powers are more inclined to look at global issues and interests based on their foreign policy doctrines. But the key point is that the confrontation with US unilateralism, which is a common point of Beijing-Moscow foreign policy, has failed to become a solid model in the two countries' relations. Multilateralism is not a numbers game where several players come together to discuss a common problem. A coalition or alliance is essentially a social order and must be based on a shared understanding between two or more actors and pursue a common goal; but this common understanding between Russia and China on all international issues has not yet been established.

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